1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

company. Girls often weave ponchos for their brothers, and 593
when a boy is in trouble he may sing a lament, pleading with a 604
sister to help him out. At Carrarriñe we were several times visited by a younger sister of Luciano Huentacura, a widower. Whenever she was offered something special to eat she would put it aside for one of Luciano's little daughters, whom she was helping to rear. At the same time, an older sister of Luciano was bringing up one of his motherless sons in her own home.

In terms of behavior, father's brother is often equated with 604
father, and mother's sister with mother. Aurora, wife of Juan Antinao, had been brought up by a mother's sister whom she looked upon as a parent and now, in middle age, Aurora was reciprocating by caring for one of her sister's daughters.

Much affection also prevails between paternal grandparents 603●
and grandchildren.[11] They employ reciprocal terminology, and paternal grandparents generally bestow their own names on first-born grandchildren of the appropriate sex.

It is not uncommon to find a child of poor parents living as 602
a kind of servant in the home of a relative. Arrangements of 357
this sort may be formed by any kinfolk, but are most commonly 597
made by agreement between siblings. Whole cases favorable boys more than they do girls. Such adoptive children perform all manner of chores in exchange for food, lodging, and such things as castoff clothing. They are generally expected to do little more than their more fortunate age mates and are treated much like the natal members of the household.

There is no record of institutionalized joking relationships.[12] 602
It was said that girls joked only with their sisters, but boys 593
were permitted to joke privately with siblings, sons of father's brothers, and brothers-in-law. Secondarily, boys joked with sisters-in-law and father's brothers. Occasionally, joking occurred between a man and the daughter of his father's brother. This topic is in need of further investigation and elucidation.

[11] In a patrilineal society a youngster would have no opportunity to enter into intimate relations with his maternal grandparents.

[12] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 714.

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the ruka. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot for the ritually cleansing, hilltops, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and rewed. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, where the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone who stands in his place – that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

The mother is the principal custodian and diciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often [illegible] declining years.

In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores -- in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the ruka, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[596] [606] rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime [603] take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her [606] annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible [607] relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[609] On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

[594] Within three generations a family may change from an elementary unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the [596] [613] retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup, the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage.

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if *he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him.* His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries.

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral law from their parents. This knowledge is acquired indirectly, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *lonko*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

knows. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don'ts of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This means a structural phenomenon among contemporary Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *lahu* term between alternate generations, in the *lahuton* (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kuwe lahu pu ese*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sets no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapuchean. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite concern, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more salutary structures.

Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kuwe lahu pu ese*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At